DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 179 430 SO 012 108

AUTHOR Long, Samuel
TITLE An Integrated Social Deprivation-Political Reality Model of Political Alienation: Black-White Adolescent Comparisons.
PUB DATE 79
NOTE 52p.; Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association (Boston, MA, August 27-31, 1979)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Blacks; Caucasians; Measurement Techniques; *Models; *Political Attitudes; *Racial Differences; Research Methodology; Self Concept; *Social Attitudes; Social Disadvantagement; Social Science Research; *Student Alienation

ABSTRACT

The document reports results of a study which integrated two models of political alienation--the social deprivation and the political reality models. The social deprivation model was originally conceived to measure feelings of social inefficacy and political distrust among black preadults. It is argued that the model is equally pertinent to white and adult populations. The political reality model predicts a direct association between critical-threatening perceptions of the sociopolitical system and feelings of political inefficacy, discontent, cynicism, and estrangement. A random sample of 460 white and black senior high schools students in Evansville, Indiana, responded to a self-administered questionnaire. A majority of the sample was female (52%) and white(91%). Three major findings resulted. First, predicted differences between white and black adolescents regarding levels of perceived social deprivation, perceived self-competence, critical-threatening perceptions of sociopolitical reality, and feelings of political alienation do not occur. Second, predicted correlations between variables in the model received little empirical support for either racial group. Third, in predicting levels of perceived political alienation, the social deprivation-political reality model seems more applicable to white than to black adolescents. (Author/KC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED179430

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

AN INTEGRATED SOCIAL DEPRIVATION-POLITICAL REALITY MODEL OF POLITICAL ALIENATION: BLACK-WHITE ADOLESCENT COMPARISONS

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Samuel Long

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Samuel Long

Political Science Department
Baruch College-CUNY

SP 012 108

Prepared for delivery at the 1979 Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Sheraton-Boston Hotel, Boston, Massachusetts, 27-31 August.

The assistance of the students, teachers, and administrators of the Evansville, Indiana Public School System in the completion of this research is gratefully acknowledged. Financial support for this research was provided by the Political Science Department and the Political Psychology Program, Yale University. Computer time was furnished by the Yale University Computer Center.

ABSTRACT

A revised, integrated version of the social deprivation and political reality models of political alienation antecedents is tested in this paper using a random sample of 460 white and black Evansville, Indiana high school students surveyed in May, 1975. Three major findings result. First, predicted differences between white and black adolescents regarding levels of perceived social deprivation, perceived self-competence, critical-threatening perceptions of sociopolitical reality, and feelings of political alienation do not typically occur. Second, with the exception of the relatively strong correlation between perceptions of sociopolitical reality and feelings of political alienation, predicted correlations between variables in the model receive little empirical support for either racial group. Third, in predicting levels of felt political alienation, it is found that the social deprivation-political reality model seems more applicable to white than to black adolescents. Statistical controls for the effects of sex, school year, grade-point-average, and socio-economic status do not significantly alter these results.

An Integrated Social Deprivation-Political Reality
Model of Political Alienation: Black-White Adolescent Comparisons

"My country! Why aren't you what you claim to be?"
--E. L. Doctorow (1971: 51)

Introduction. The concept of "alienation" is a favorite of social theorists and researchers, generating considerable interest and discussion (Israel, 1971; Schacht, 1970). With a few exceptions, however, little attention has been directed by social scientists to explaining the phenomenon, whether it be social or political in nature (Seeman, 1972; Seeman, 1975; Koff, 1973). Recently, though, the emphasis on describing levels of different dimensions of alienation among various populations has been replaced with an attempt to account for such feelings, especially feelings of political inefficacy and political distrust, using two models of political alienation antecedents, one individual-oriented, the other system-oriented (Abramson, 1972). The objective of this paper is to test these two models, using a sample of white and black adolescents, and employing multiple indicators for the concepts intrinsic to the two models.

In this context, "political alienation" will be defined as an affective response on the part of an individual relative to the political system and its leaders which is basically negative in nature and which is characterized by four interrelated feelings: 1) a feeling of political inefficacy, 2) a feeling of discontentment regarding systemic policy outputs, 3) a feeling of distrust concerning the motives and behavior of political leaders, and 4) a feeling of estrangement from the political system.

Social Deprivation Model. The first model of political alienation antecedents was originally formulated to account for feelings of political inefficacy and political distrust among black preadults, but probably pertains to whites and adults as well. This model rests on five assumptions. First, that a lack of opportunity and respect among individuals generates perceptions of low self-competence. Individuals with perceptions of low self-competence, in turn, manifest low levels of political efficacy. Furthermore, perceptions of low self-competence are concomitant with low levels of political trust. And, most importantly, black preadults are deprived of opportunity and are denied respect. Therefore, black preadults manifest lower perceptions of self-competence than their white peers. In conclusion, then, black preadults should exhibit lower levels of political efficacy and political trust than white preadults (Abramson, 1972). Extending this model somewhat, it will also be argued here that such racial differences should apply to other dimensions of political alienation as well, most notably feelings of policy discontentment and political estrangement.

Two causal linkages are posited in the social deprivation model, the first between perceptions of social deprivation and perceptions of low self-competence, and the second between perceptions of low self-competence and feelings of political alienation, i.e., inefficacy, discontentment, cynicism, and estrangement. Considerable theory and some empirical evidence can be brought to bear on these linkages. For instance, ample support exists for the notion that blacks relative to whites suffer greater social, economic, and political deprivation (Coleman, 1971; Duncan, 1969; Feagin and Hahn, 1973; Miller, 1974).

Theoretical support for the link between perceptions of social deprivation and self-competence is equivocal, however. Thus, one school argues that the life situation of blacks in the United States exerts a major psychological

impact on the personalities of black individuals, which ultimately results in low self-esteem, feelings of hopelessness, and identity conflict (Clark, 1965; Pettigrew, 1964; Grier and Cobbs, 1968; Proshansky and Newton, 1968; Poussaint and Atkinson, 1972; Silberman, 1964; Erikson, 1966). A second school of thought argues that while the social and economic situation of blacks may be deprived, this deprivation may not have a detrimental effect on the dynamics of the black family (McCarthy and Yancey, 1971; Perry and Feagin, 1972; TenHouten, 1970; Scanzoni, 1971). Moreover, race may be an irrelevant factor in self-esteem formation, or if it is germane, the effects of deprivation may occur subsequent to the establishment of self-esteem in the black preadult (Coopersmith, 1967; Baughman, 1971). Other theorists have argued that intra-racial comparisons may be most typical in self-esteem development (Festinger, 1953; Thibaut and Kelley, 1959), although recent data suggest this may not be the case (Long, 1976e; Long, 1976f). It has also been argued that, for the black preadult, the maintenance of self-esteem can be assured through the use of system-blame for individual frustration and failure (Baughman, 1971; Heinz, 1971). Furthermore, since self-esteem develops in an interactional context, it is possible that the black preadults' attitudes toward significant others, particularly whites, may serve as a means of protecting their self-esteem as well (Rosenberg, 1973). Finally, the social deprivation model of political alienation seems to treat the self-competence concept as being fundamentally evaluational or normative in nature; recent research on self-description and self-evaluation indicates that such normative components are atypical among preadults, suggesting that too much weight may be placed on self-competence in this model of political alienation antecedents (McGuire and Padawer-Singer, 1976).

Unfortunately, the empirical research on this topic is of little assistance (Hauser, 1971; Porter, 1971; Baughman and Dahlstrom, 1968; Christmas, 1973; Baughman, 1971), with some studies reporting higher self-esteem levels among white preadults (Morland, 1962; Brody, 1963; Brody, 1964; Coles, 1967; Cottle, 1974), other studies reporting higher self-esteem levels among black preadults (Soares and Soares, 1969; McDonald and Gynther, 1965; Rosenberg and Simmons, 1971; Wendland, 1967; Bridgette, 1970; Ward and Braun, 1972; Long, 1976d), and still other research reports no difference in levels of self-esteem between white and black preadults (Williams and Byars, 1970; Williams and Byars, 1969; Guggenheim, 1969; Rosenberg, 1965; Long, 1974).

While the research comparing self-esteem levels among white and black preadults does not provide clear conclusions, the recent research on the relationship between perceptions of social deprivation and feelings of low self-esteem does provide clearer results. In this case, perceptions of social deprivation among both racial groups have been found to correlate with low self-esteem levels (Long, 1974; Long, 1976d). These correlations have not been particularly strong, however.

One means of avoiding this confusion surrounding the self-esteem concept is to conceptualize self-competence as including a locus of control dimension (Smith, 1968; White, 1972), with low self-competence being construed as a belief in external control of reinforcement and high self-competence being construed as a belief in internal locus of control (Rotter, 1954; Rotter, 1966). In this instance, considerable support exists for racial differences appearing when this construct is measured, in almost all cases with blacks evincing higher levels of external locus of control beliefs than whites (Joe,

1971; Phares, 1976). Even here, though, some recent research indicates little or no difference occurring between white and black preadults when different locus of control dimensions are tapped (Long, 1976d).

When the locus of control construct is employed, however, very weak or no correlations have been found in testing the initial causal nexus in the social deprivation model. Thus perceptions of social deprivation do not necessarily correlate with or lead to feelings of external locus of control among either white or black preadults (Long, 1974; Long, 1975a; Long, 1976d).

In investigating the second causal link in the social deprivation model, that between self-competence and political alienation, both theoretical and empirical support can be marshalled for this hypothetical association. From a theoretical vantagepoint, it has been argued that low self-esteem tends to generate political apathy and feelings of political alienation because of generalized feelings of personal hopelessness (Lasswell, 1962), because of low psychic energy levels (Goldhamer, 1950; Lane, 1959), and because of an exaggerated egocentric concern with personal problems (Horney, 1950). Empirically, low self-esteem has been shown to correlate with isolationist foreign policy attitudes (McClosky, 1967; Sniderman and Citrin, 1971), political cynicism, political distrust, and perceptions of political corruption and dishonesty (Sniderman, 1975). Furthermore, low self-esteem has also been found to relate to low political interest levels, low media attendance to public affairs, low levels of political knowledge, and infrequent discussion of politics (Rosenberg, 1965). When a specific effort is made to delineate the relationship between self-esteem and political alienation among white and black preadults, the results tend to show a modest

relationship between low self-esteem levels and feelings of political alienation among members of both racial groups (Long, 1974; Long, 1976d).

Similarly, research on the relationship between locus of control beliefs and political behavior also indicates a rather consistent relationship between internal control beliefs and a commitment to social activism (Gore and Rotter, 1963), involvement in civil rights activities (Strickland, 1965), feelings of political efficacy and trust (Sigel, 1971), a belief in individual-blame for the state of the political system (Renshon, 1974), and a rejection of irresponsible and rebellious behavior (Crain and Weisman, 1972). Moreover, research on black militants shows an association between internal control beliefs and realistic perceptions of racial discrimination, prejudice, and exploitation (Gurin, et al., 1969; Forward and Williams, 1970). Conversely, research on riot participants shows a relationship between external control beliefs and actual involvement in riot activity (Ransford, 1968; Tomlinson, 1968; Tomlinson, 1970a; Tomlinson, 1970b; Crawford and Naditch, 1970). As with the recent research on self-esteem and feelings of political alienation among white and black preadults, modest correlations have been found to occur for both racial groups between external control beliefs and feelings of political alienation (Long, 1974; Long, 1975a; Long, 1976d).

Besides including self-esteem and locus of control dimensions, the concept of self-competence, as employed here, will also include a rationality component. The assumption underlying this conception of self-competence is that the individual must accurately perceive and reason about his personal and political world if he is to effectively cope with it (Nerelman, 1971). Thus, if he fails to make realistic demands of himself, others, and society and if he fails to realistically perceive his environment, he will not be

able to maximize his self-interest (Sarat, 1975). Politically, therefore, the irrationally perfectionistic person should be more prone to feelings of inefficacy, discontentment, cynicism, and estrangement (Long, 1976c).

Theoretically, this position has been quite adequately stated by a number of authors (Ellis, 1962; Lazarus, 1971; Friedman, 1975). Empirically, much recent evidence supports the assumption regarding personal rationality and personal achievement and functioning (Ellis, 1971; Ellis and Harper, 1975); less empirical evidence exists relevant to individual political rationality and functional political behavior (Long, 1976a; Long, 1976b).

By way of summary, the social deprivation model of political alienation antecedents was originally conceived to account for feelings of political inefficacy and political distrust among black preadults. It has been argued here that such a model is equally pertinent to white populations and to adults, as well as to other dimensions of felt political alienation. The model posits a direct relationship between perceptions of social deprivation and perceptions of self-competence, and between perceptions of self-competence and feelings of political alienation. To this point in the analysis, the theoretical literature and the empirical research germane to the social deprivation model have been briefly reviewed, with shortcomings in both theory and research indicated.

Political Reality Model. As initially stated, the political reality model of political alienation antecedents was devoid of a concern with personal psychodynamics or a focus on the individual. Rather this model concentrated on the functioning of the sociopolitical system as the primary stimulus fostering feelings of political alienation in individuals. This

model is grounded on three assumptions, all of which relate to the socio-political experience of black preadults but which should be equally applicable to whites and to adults. First, blacks lack the resources upon which political influence can be based. Second, blacks are justified in withholding trust from political leaders. And, third, through the process of political socialization, either direct or indirect, black preadults are familiar with the political situation of blacks in the United States, i.e., their lack of political power and their lack of grounds for political trust (Abramson, 1972).

While discussions of this model of political alienation can be found in the social science literature (Coles, 1975; Levin, 1960; Laurence, 1970; Prestage, 1969), until recently the model was not subjected to empirical test. When investigated, the political reality model was found to predict feelings of political alienation among black preadults, as well as among white preadults and adult samples (Greenberg, 1969; Greenberg, 1970a; Greenberg, 1970b; Rodgers, 1974; Long, 1975b; Long, 1976d; Citrin, et al., 1975).

Since the political reality model of political alienation, as originally formulated, lacks a motivational element connecting critical perceptions of systemic functioning to feelings of inefficacy, discontentment, cynicism, and estrangement, it will be modified in this context to include a threat or reactance component (Brehm, 1966; Brehm, 1972). This threat component suggests that critical perceptions of systemic functioning do not generate feelings of political alienation, but rather that the individual associates the failings of the sociopolitical system with his own experience, feels personally threatened by the operation of the sociopolitical system, and responds with feelings of political alienation (Long, 1976a; Long, 1976g;

Long, 1976i). In this context, such critical perceptions of systemic functioning will be defined as pertaining to perceptions of economic discrimination, racial discrimination, and the failure of the sociopolitical system to conform to fundamental democratic principles.

In summary, the political reality model, as outlined here, predicts a direct association between critical-threatening perceptions of the functioning of the sociopolitical system and feelings of political inefficacy, discontentment, cynicism, and estrangement (Matthews and Prothro, 1966; Salamon and Van Evera, 1973; Kornberg, et al., 1970).

Model Integration. While it has been pointed out that the social deprivation and political reality models of political alienation need not be considered mutually exclusive explanations, and that a synthesis might be effected between the two models (Abramson, 1972), no such rigorous theoretical integration has yet occurred in the social science literature (Long, 1976d). For the purposes at hand, though, it would seem feasible to combine the elements in both models in such a manner as to permit a rudimentary testing of such a synthesized model.

Perhaps the most obvious means of combining the two models would be to link the political reality perceptions concept with the perceived social deprivation and self-competence concepts. This integrated model, then, would predict that perceptions of social deprivation would affect perceptions of self-competence, critical perceptions of systemic functioning, and feelings of political alienation. The latter two causal paths assume a considerable degree of sophistication on the part of the individual experiencing perceptions of social deprivation, in that such perceptions would require an elementary

belief system sufficiently politicized to directly sensitize the person to systemic functioning and to enlist a system-blame explanation for his psychosocial situation. In addition, the integrated model would hypothesize a causal path between self-competence and political reality perceptions, as well as to feelings of political alienation, as the social deprivation model would predict. In this case, it is assumed that critical-threatening perceptions are at least partially generated by psychological factors, e.g., low self-esteem, external locus of control beliefs, and irrational ideation. The final causal path in this integrated model is that between perceptions of political reality and felt political alienation, which is posited in the original political reality model.

Finally, two other assumptions inherent in this integrated model of political alienation antecedents should be introduced. First, if, indeed, blacks do experience greater perceptions of social deprivation, based on their inferior life situation, then, compared to whites, they should register higher levels of perceived social deprivation, critical-threatening perceptions of systemic functioning, feelings of political alienation, and lower levels of self-competence (Long, 1976k; Long, 1976j). Second, if, in fact, the assumptions underlying the social deprivation and political reality models are correct, then they should serve as better predictors of political alienation among blacks than among whites.

Hypotheses. The following hypotheses, based on the integrated social deprivation-political reality model of political alienation antecedents outlined above, will serve to guide this research.

H_1 Relative to whites, blacks will manifest higher levels of perceived social deprivation, critical-threatening perceptions of political reality, feelings of political alienation, and lower levels of perceived self-competence.

H_2 Perceptions of social deprivation will correlate negatively with perceptions of self-competence.

H_3 Perceptions of social deprivation will correlate positively with critical-threatening perceptions of political reality.

H_4 Perceptions of social deprivation will correlate positively with feelings of political alienation.

H_5 Perceptions of self-competence will correlate negatively with critical-threatening perceptions of political reality.

H_6 Perceptions of self-competence will correlate negatively with feelings of political alienation.

H_7 Critical-threatening perceptions of political reality will correlate positively with feelings of political alienation.

H_8 The integrated social deprivation-political reality model will prove a better predictor of felt political alienation among blacks than among whites.

Sample. Data for this research were provided by means of a written questionnaire which was self-administered by a random sample of 460 Evansville, Indiana senior high school students in May, 1975. The students were guaranteed personal anonymity and response confidentiality. A majority of the sample was female (52%) and white (91%). Thirty percent of the students'

parents had received less than twelve years of formal education, 38 percent were high school graduates, 12 percent had attended college, and 20 percent of the students' parents had graduated from college. Fifteen percent of the students reported having grade-point-averages of A, 47 percent reported GPAs of B, and 38 percent reported earning GPAs of C or below.

Independent Variables. In operationalizing the concept of perceived social deprivation in this study, two indicators were used. First, a modified nine-step version of Cantril's self-anchoring striving scale (1965) was employed, on which respondents were requested to place themselves on a ladder ranging from rung number one (their worst possible life) to rung number nine (their best possible life) for three separate time periods, the present (1975), five years in the past (1970), and five years in the future (1980). The initial measure of perceived social deprivation, therefore, was operationalized by summating the adolescents' responses over the three points in time, with a high score, 27, denoting perceived social gratification and a low score, 3, signifying perceived social deprivation. This measure attained a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of 0.70.

The second perceived social deprivation indicator consisted of a four-item scale measuring the respondents' comparisons of their families' situation compared to most people, their job opportunities compared to most people, their income earning opportunities compared to most people, and their chances of finding satisfactory housing compared to most people (Thibaut and Kelly, 1959). Again, the respondents' answers were summated across the four items, with a high score, 20, indicating perceived social gratification and a low score, 4, indicating perceived social deprivation. The alpha for this

measure was 0.80.

The inter-scale correlation between these two indicators was 0.69, and when combined into a summated composite index, they registered an alpha of 0.77.

The perceived self-competence concept was operationalized through the use of five attitudinal measures, the first of which was Rosenberg's self-esteem scale (1965): 1) I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least as important as other people; 2) I feel that I have a number of good qualities; 3) I think I am a good person; 4) I certainly feel useless at times (Reflected); 5) All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure (Reflected); 6) I am able to do things as well as most other people; 7) On the whole, I am satisfied with myself; 8) I feel I do not have much to be proud of (Reflected); 9) I wish I could have more respect for myself (Reflected); and 10) At times I think I am no good at all (Reflected). This scale achieved a Cronbach's alpha of 0.76.

Levenson's chance control scale (1973), with an alpha of 0.56, was utilized as a second measure of perceived self-competence: 1) I have found that what is going to happen will happen; 2) To a great extent my life is controlled by accidental happenings; 3) It's not always wise for me to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune; 4) Often there is no chance of protecting my personal interest from bad luck happenings; and 5) When I get what I want, it's usually because I'm lucky.

The third indicator of perceived self-competence used in this study was Levenson's powerful others control scale (1973), which manifested an alpha of 0.51: 1) Getting what I want requires pleasing those people above me; 2) I feel like what happens in my life is mostly determined by powerful people; 3) My life is chiefly controlled by people who are more powerful

than I am; 4) People like myself have very little chance of protecting our personal interests when they conflict with those of strong pressure groups; and 5) In order to have my plans work, I make sure that they fit in with the desires of people who have power over me.

The personal irrationality scale (Fox and Davies, 1971; MacDonald and Games, 1972; Bard, 1973), with an alpha of 0.75, was utilized as the fourth indicator of perceived self-competence: 1) I worry over possible misfortunes; 2) I worry about situations where I am being tested; 3) My feelings are easily hurt; 4) Sometimes I feel that no one loves me; 5) I find it difficult to take criticism without feeling hurt; 6) I worry about little things; 7) I get terribly upset and miserable when things are not the way I would like them to be; and 8) It is very important to me when I do a good job to be praised.

The fifth indicator of perceived self-competence, the political irrationality scale, with an alpha coefficient of 0.59, was composed of six items: 1) It is a terrible catastrophe when affairs in this country do not work out as we want them to; 2) There is always a right or perfect solution for every political problem, and it must be found or the results will be catastrophic; 3) The past actions of our political leaders are an important cause of our failure to remedy our present difficulties; 4) Our political leaders must be perfectly competent and informed to deserve our respect and trust; 5) It isn't terrible if political affairs don't work out as we want them to (Reflected); and 6) One should be quite upset over political problems, such as war and international conflict.

The mean inter-scale correlation between these five indicators of

perceived self-competence was 0.41, and they registered an alpha of 0.73 when combined into a summated composite index.

Five attitudinal measures were used in operationalizing the critical-threatening perceptions of political reality concept. The first of these measures was the perceived economic discrimination scale, with an alpha coefficient of 0.65: 1) When they both commit the same crimes, poor people get longer sentences than rich people; 2) Political leaders take advantage of rich people more than they do poor people (Reflected); 3) Most laws treat the poor worse than the rich; 4) Businessmen cheat poor people more than they do rich people; and 5) Police treat poor people worse than rich people.

The perceived racial discrimination scale, exhibiting an alpha of 0.56, was comprised of five items: 1) Businessmen cheat black people more than they do white people; 2) Most laws treat whites worse than blacks (Reflected); 3) When they both commit the same crimes, blacks get shorter sentences than whites (Reflected); 4) Police treat blacks worse than whites; and 5) Political leaders take advantage of white people more than they do black people (Reflected).

With a Cronbach's alpha of 0.54, the third indicator of critical-threatening perceptions of political reality, the democratic deficiency scale, was compounded of six items: 1) This country is becoming less democratic every day; 2) It's very disturbing to me that the interests of some groups of people aren't fully represented in our political system; 3) Although our government is supposed to be based on justice for everyone, it really isn't just at all; 4) No matter what the civics books say, all people are not treated politically equally; 5) I'm very much concerned about many people in this country today not having as much political equality as they should;

and 6) Although I wish it were otherwise, no one in this country today has as much freedom as the Constitution says they should have.

The political sensitivity scale, with an alpha of 0.63, was composed of seven items: 1) If the government wouldn't allow newspapers to print whatever they wished, I would be very disturbed; 2) If the government wouldn't permit me to vote in elections, I would be very angry; 3) If the government denied me the right to live where I pleased, I don't think I'd be too concerned (Reflected); 4) I would be very upset if the government denied me the right of free speech; 5) I really don't think I'd be too concerned if the government made it illegal for people to criticize our political leaders (Reflected); 6) I can't imagine getting upset over not being permitted by the government to support a particular political party in an election (Reflected); and 7) I would feel very frustrated if the government wouldn't allow me to associate with or talk to certain people.

The political reactance scale, with an alpha of 0.74, was comprised of six items: 1) The way our leaders are running the country these days, I really feel threatened; 2) Sometimes I feel that the poor leadership we've had in this country recently is going to somehow threaten the kind of life I'd like to live; 3) I'm not going to be able to live the kind of life I'd like to live because of the way this country is being run; 4) I feel personally threatened when I hear how our government is managing the economy these days; 5) I'm not as free to do some of the things I'd like to do because of the way this country is being run; and 6) I don't view the government as a threat to my personal freedom (Reflected).

The mean inter-scale correlation between these five indicators of the critical-threatening perceptions of political reality concept was 0.30,

and when combined into a summated composite index they attained an alpha coefficient of 0.92.

Dependent Variables. The felt political alienation concept was operationalized using four attitudinal scales, exhibiting a mean inter-scale correlation of 0.62 and an alpha of 0.75 when they were combined into a summated composite index. The first of these indicators, Olsen's political incapability scale (1969), with an alpha coefficient of 0.49, was employed to measure feelings of political inefficacy: 1) I believe public officials don't care much what people like me and my parents think; 2) There is no way other than voting that people like me and my parents can influence actions of the government; 3) Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that I can't really understand what's going on; and 4) People like me and my parents don't have any say about what the government does.

Olsen's political discontentment scale (1969), manifesting an alpha of 0.58, was used to measure feelings of policy discontentment: 1) As the government is now organized and operated, I think it is hopelessly incapable of dealing with all the crucial problems facing the country today; 2) It seems to me that the government often fails to take necessary actions on important matters, even when people favor such actions; 3) These days the government is trying to do too many things, including some activities that I don't think it has the right to do; and 4) For the most part, the government serves the interests of a few organized groups, such as business or labor, and isn't very concerned about the needs of people like my parents and me.

The third dimension of the political alienation concept was measured by the political cynicism scale of Agger, et al. (1961), which registered an

alpha coefficient of 0.50: 1) Money is the most important factor influencing public policies; 2) Politicians represent the general interest more frequently than they represent special interests (Reflected); 3) In order to get nominated, most candidates for political office have to make basic compromises and undesirable commitments; 4) Politicians spend most of their time getting re-elected or re-appointed; 5) People are very frequently manipulated by politicians; and 6) A large number of city and county politicians are political hacks.

The political estrangement scale, with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.64, was composed of the following items: 1) When I think about government and politics in the United States, I consider myself an outsider; 2) I tend to identify myself with and feel closely associated with American politics and government (Reflected); 3) When I hear or read about the politics and governmental system of the United States, I feel that I am a part of that system (Reflected); and 4) When I think about the government in Washington, I don't feel as if it's my government.

Results. Although as originally presented, the social deprivation model of political alienation only predicts higher levels of political alienation among black preadults compared to white preadults, the prediction that black preadults would also exhibit lower levels of perceived self-competence and more critical-threatening perceptions of systemic functionings relative to white preadults seems to follow from the assumptions underlying the model. The analysis of variance results germane to the first hypothesis appear in Table 1, where of the sixteen racial comparisons, only three support the predicted white-black differences. Thus, on the self-esteem, political irrationality, and racial discrimination measures, the black adolescents'

TABLE 1. PERCEIVED RELATIVE DEPRIVATION, PERCEIVED SELF-COMPETENCE, CRITICAL-THREATENING PERCEPTIONS OF POLITICAL REALITY, AND FELT POLITICAL ALIENATION MEAN INDICATOR SCORES BY RACE

	M		SD		t	p
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks		
Social Gratification	17.28	17.03	3.88	4.69	0.34	0.74
Comparison Level	13.37	13.58	2.42	3.00	0.46	0.64
Self-Esteem	44.12	40.00	7.05	7.86	2.87	0.004
Chance Control	18.35	19.54	4.01	3.24	1.47	0.14
Powerful Others Control	17.54	17.76	3.98	4.59	0.28	0.78
Personal Irrationality	29.58	28.61	7.17	7.73	0.72	0.47
Political Irrationality	22.30	24 39	4.59	4.41	2.45	0.02
Economic Discrimination	20.79	19.70	4.96	4.84	1.17	0.24
Racial Discrimination	16.86	21.34	3.68	3.44	6.38	0.0001
Democratic Deficiency	24.45	25.13	4.45	5.76	0.80	0.42
Political Sensitivity	34.22	29.48	5.67	6.83	4.42	0.0001
Political Reactance	22.70	22.45	5.71	6.65	0.24	0.81
Political Inefficacy	15.92	16.00	3.66	2.23	0.11	0.91
Policy Discontentment	16.30	16.72	3.31	2.94	0.66	0.51
Political Cynicism	25.31	23.04	3.95	4.72	2.75	0.006
Political Estrangement	15.66	16.13	3.94	3.74	0.63	0.53

responses conform to the social deprivation model. Conversely, on two indicators, political sensitivity and political cynicism, the data contradict the model, and on eleven other indicators no racial differences appear. Therefore, using a univariate approach to hypothesis-testing, very little support can be found for the initial prediction drawn from the social deprivation model.

Because of the crucial nature of the first hypothesis to the social deprivation model, a second, multivariate, statistical test will be applied to the Evansville data. The results of this multiple discriminant analysis (Cooley and Lohnes, 1971), which is basically concerned with predicting the adolescents' race on the basis of their responses to a minimum number of attitudinal measures, appear in Table 2. As it can be seen in this table, eight of the sixteen indicators displayed in the first table are shown to significantly differentiate white from black adolescents in a multivariate fashion. Moreover, these statistics indicate that the racial discrimination measure serves as the best indicator differentiating the two racial groups, with the political sensitivity and political irrationality measures serving as the next best discriminators. Furthermore, the canonical correlation of 0.39 shows that race is moderately associated with these eight indicators. Perhaps most important, though, is the information about the relative strengths of these eight measures in predicting race, with the racial discrimination and political irrationality measures exhibiting the greatest predictive effect, then the political sensitivity, political cynicism, and self-esteem measures exerting somewhat less predictive weight, and, finally, the comparison level, democratic deficiency, and political inefficacy measures having the least impact in this regard. On the basis of the adolescents' responses to these eight measures, their race can be correctly predicted 82

TABLE 2. STEP-WISE MULTIPLE DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS OF PERCEIVED RELATIVE DEPRIVATION, PERCEIVED SELF-COMPETENCE, CRITICAL-THREATENING PERCEPTIONS OF POLITICAL REALITY, AND FELT POLITICAL ALIENATION INDICATOR SCORES AS PREDICTORS OF RACE

Summary Table

Step Number	Variable Entered	F to Enter	Wilks' Lambda	Significance	Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients
1	Racial Discrimination	29.11	0.93	0.0001	0.64
2	Political Sensitivity	11.18	0.90	0.0001	-0.38
3	Political Irrationality	10.87	0.88	0.0001	0.49
4	Political Cynicism	5.92	0.86	0.0001	-0.34
5	Self-Esteem	2.77	0.86	0.0001	-0.30
6	Comparison Level	2.20	0.85	0.0001	0.19
7	Democratic Deficiency	1.09	0.85	0.0001	0.18
8	Political Inefficacy	1.18	0.85	0.0001	-0.15

Eigenvalue	Canonical Correlation	Correctly Predicted Classifications
0.18	0.39	82%

Centroids of Groups in Reduced Space

Whites	-0.10
Blacks	1.54

percent of the time. Therefore, while this information exceeds chance prediction by over thirty percent, the adolescents' responses still are not found to support the assumptions intrinsic to the social deprivation model of political alienation antecedents.

Do perceptions of social deprivation correlate with perceptions of self-competence? The social deprivation model would predict that as social deprivation increases, self-competence should decrease. Therefore, the social gratification and comparison level measures ought to correlate positively with self-esteem and negatively with chance control, powerful others control, personal irrationality, and political irrationality. With the exception of the political irrationality measure, these predictions appear to hold for the white sample, but not for the black sample which only supports the social deprivation model in two respects, the social gratification-chance control correlation and the comparison level-political irrationality correlation. Interestingly, therefore, the correlations in Table 3 suggest that the relationship between social deprivation and self-competence posited by the social deprivation model of political alienation antecedents may be more applicable to white adolescents than to black adolescents, at least in Evansville.

Although the theoretical weaknesses inherent in the social deprivation model have already been indicated, it seems feasible that one explanation for these findings may account for both racial patterns, i.e., individual- versus system-blame. Thus, black adolescents, if they view themselves as being socially deprived, may find it easier to subscribe to a system-blame ideology for their situation; whereas, white adolescents, perhaps due to

TABLE 3. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERCEIVED SOCIAL DEPRIVATION AND PERCEIVED SELF-COMPETENCE INDICATORS BY RACE

	Self-Esteem	Chance Control	Powerful Others Control	Personal Irrationality	Political Irrationality
Social Gratification	0.43	-0.16	-0.12	-0.19	-0.04
	0.21	-0.46	-0.04	-0.13	0.03
Comparison Level	0.36	-0.20	-0.16	-0.20	-0.04
	-0.04	0.06	-0.14	0.21	-0.48

NOTE: Whites on first row (r= 0.08, p= 0.05);
blacks on second row (r= 0.29, p= 0.05).

their relatively apolitical environment and their belief in the Protestant Ethic (Mirels and Garrett, 1971; MacDonald, 1972), may be confronted with a stronger individual-blame orientation.

The third hypothesis derived from the integrated social deprivation-political reality model, pertaining to the relationship between perceptions of social deprivation and critical-threatening perceptions of systemic functioning, is accorded very little empirical support in Table 4. The correlations for the white adolescents in this table, when statistically significant, are relatively weak; and one of the three significant correlations for the black adolescents directly contradicts the model, i.e., the positive correlation between social gratification and perceptions of racial discrimination. Congruent with the model, however, are the two correlations for the black adolescents between comparison level and perceptions of democratic deficiency and political reactance. For the blacks, then, some evidence exists for critical-threatening perceptions of the sociopolitical system being associated with perceptions of social deprivation; although, in the instance of racial discrimination, it appears that, for the Evansville blacks, this type of awareness is concomitant with greater life satisfaction. The third hypothesis is not supported.

According to hypothesis four, if sufficiently politicized, perceptions of social deprivation should correlate with feelings of political alienation. Therefore, the measures of social gratification and comparison level in Table 5 should correlate negatively with feelings of political inefficacy, policy discontentment, political cynicism, and political estrangement. Unfortunately, only slight support for this hypothesis can be found in this table, and what evidence that does exist for this relationship pertains solely

TABLE 4. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERCEIVED SOCIAL DEPRIVATION AND CRITICAL-THREATENING PERCEPTIONS OF POLITICAL REALITY INDICATORS BY RACE

	Economic Discrimination	Racial Discrimination	Democratic Deficiency	Political Sensitivity	Political Reactance
Social Gratification	-0.03	-0.12	-0.06	0.14	-0.09
	-0.06	0.38	-0.28	-0.01	-0.28
Comparison Level	-0.11	0.00	-0.06	0.11	-0.12
	-0.18	-0.12	-0.33	-0.10	-0.50

NOTE: Whites on first row (r= 0.08, p= 0.05);
blacks on second row (r= 0.29, p= 0.05).

TABLE 5. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERCEIVED SOCIAL DEPRIVATION AND FELT POLITICAL ALIENATION INDICATORS BY RACE

	Political Inefficacy	Policy Discontentment	Political Cynicism	Political Estrangement
Social Gratification	-0.17	-0.02	-0.03	-0.16
	0.00	-0.10	-0.09	-0.26
Comparison Level	-0.18	-0.02	-0.01	-0.21
	0.13	-0.26	-0.24	-0.03

NOTE: Whites on first row ($r = 0.08$, $p = 0.05$);
blacks on second row ($r = 0.29$, $p = 0.05$).

to the white adolescents, not to their black cohorts. Weak correlations, for example, appear for the former group between the social gratification and comparison level measures and the political efficacy and political estrangement measures, but, even here, the correlations for the black adolescents do not approach statistical significance. This finding is of interest, though, in that it suggests that these perceptions of deprivation are most prone to affect the more "psychological" dimensions of the alienation concept, i.e., those with an ostensible apathy or withdrawal component, in contrast with those emphasizing a policy or dissatisfaction component. Probably because of the lack of political sophistication on the part of these Evansville adolescents, however, the relatively sophisticated ideological association between life situation and system-blame was not made. Very little support is evidenced for the fourth hypothesis.

As presented in this context, the social deprivation-political reality model of political alienation antecedents suggests that self-competence may affect perceptions of political reality, with critical-threatening perceptions of the sociopolitical system's operations resulting from low levels of self-competence. Limited support for this prediction, particularly as it applies to white adolescents, is provided by the correlations in Table 6. In this case, powerful others control correlates with perceptions of economic discrimination and with perceptions of democratic deficiency for both white and black adolescents. Chance control, as well, correlates with perceptions of democratic deficiency for both groups. The locus of control measures also correlate with political reactance, among the white adolescents, in the predicted direction. Finally, again for the white adolescents in Evansville, irrational political ideation also correlates with political reactance.

TABLE 6. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERCEIVED SELF-COMPETENCE AND CRITICAL-THREATENING PERCEPTIONS OF POLITICAL REALITY INDICATORS BY RACE

	Economic Discrimination	Racial Discrimination	Democratic Deficiency	Political Sensitivity	Political Reactance
Self-Esteem	0.09	-0.16	-0.03	0.26	-0.09
	0.27	0.24	0.34	0.61	0.12
Chance Control	0.18	0.00	0.25	-0.03	0.30
	0.23	-0.46	0.34	0.28	0.16
Powerful Others Control	0.27	-0.04	0.29	0.00	0.28
	0.42	0.11	0.45	0.11	0.20
Personal Irrationality	0.02	0.08	0.09	0.08	0.14
	-0.18	-0.12	0.23	0.24	0.24
Political Irrationality	0.14	-0.13	0.31	0.21	0.36
	0.28	0.16	0.28	0.17	0.20

NOTE: Whites on first row ($r = 0.08$, $p = 0.05$);
blacks on second row ($r = 0.29$, $p = 0.05$).

Directly contradicting hypothesis five, especially as it pertains to black adolescents, are the positive correlations between self-esteem and democratic deficiency and political sensitivity, and the negative correlation between chance control and perceptions of racial discrimination; moreover, the positive correlation between self-esteem and political sensitivity for the white adolescents contradicts the fifth hypothesis as well. Thus, while some evidence can be forwarded in support of the association between self-competence and political reality perceptions, other evidence refutes the prediction, and, most importantly, the majority of evidence is not supportive of the hypothesis. This suggests that the assumptions upon which the social deprivation-political reality model are founded may require additional scrutiny, and, further, that the relationship between self-competence and political reality perceptions may be more complex than originally thought. This latter point is particularly relevant when the results concerning high self-esteem and perceptions of democratic deficiency and political sensitivity are considered. Thus, in certain instances, optimal personality functioning may contribute to greater political perspicacity and a greater propensity to criticize the sociopolitical system.

Related to the last hypothesis is the prediction, generated from the original social deprivation model, that low levels of self-competence will correlate positively with feelings of political alienation. Although not fully elaborated, this hypothesis appears based on psychodynamic, and perhaps social learning, assumptions regarding individual generalizations from personal to systemic functioning. with personal disfunctioning leading to feelings of alienation and dissatisfaction. With some exceptions, notably concerning the personal irrationality indicator, the correlations in Table 7 support the

TABLE 7. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERCEIVED SELF-COMPETENCE AND FELT POLITICAL ALIENATION INDICATORS BY RACE

	Political Inefficacy	Policy Discontentment	Political Cynicism	Political Estrangement
Self-Esteem	-0.22	-0.03	0.02	-0.22
	-0.25	0.13	0.33	-0.36
Chance Control	0.30	0.31	0.24	0.28
	-0.09	0.38	-0.02	0.00
Powerful Others Control	0.27	0.37	0.29	0.25
	0.19	0.48	0.44	0.00
Personal Irrationality	0.23	0.12	0.11	0.14
	0.07	-0.02	-0.04	0.10
Political Irrationality	0.22	0.39	0.23	0.12
	-0.31	0.34	0.25	-0.10

NOTE: Whites on first row ($r = 0.08$, $p = 0.05$);
blacks on second row ($r = 0.29$, $p = 0.05$).

sixth hypothesis, particularly for the white adolescents. Most noteworthy in this table are the correlations for the white adolescents between the external locus of control and political irrationality measures and the political alienation measures. With one exception, in each case, a belief in external control and unrealistic demands on the political system, particularly those of a perfectionistic nature, relate to high levels of political alienation, regardless of its specific content. Much less evidence of this appears for the black Evansville adoles-ents, and, in one instance, the association between lov political irrationality and feelings of political inefficacy, the hypothesis is directly refuted. Therefore, it can be concluded that some support for the nexus between self-competence and political alienation has been found, but it seems to pertain more to white than to black adolescents.

Do perceptions of sociopolitical reality, which are both critical and threatening, correlate with feelings of political alienation? According to the political reality model, critical perceptions of political reality should be directly linked to feelings of political alienation. Furthermore, the integrated model of political alienation antecedents also posits a direct link between the two variables, partially because of the personally threatening nature of such realistic perceptions. Compared to the preceding hypotheses, considerable empirical support can be found for the seventh hypothesis, especially as it relates to the white adolescents in Evansville. Two dimensions of the political reality concept in Table 8 seem most predisposed to generate feelings of political alienation among the white sample, democratic deficiency and political reactance, in this case, influencing all four dimensions of the political alienation concept. On the other hand, the alienation dimensions most likely to be affected by such critical-threatening perceptions seem to

TABLE 8. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CRITICAL-THREATENING PERCEPTIONS OF POLITICAL REALITY AND FELT POLITICAL ALIENATION INDICATORS BY RACE

	Political Inefficacy	Policy Discontentment	Political Cynicism	Political Estrangement
Economic Discrimination	0.17	0.34	0.44	0.18
	-0.19	0.51	0.24	-0.39
Racial Discrimination	0.04	-0.06	-0.06	0.04
	-0.27	0.01	0.37	-0.21
Democratic Deficiency	0.35	0.56	0.43	0.32
	0.21	0.38	0.38	0.06
Political Sensitivity	-0.10	0.18	0.27	-0.14
	-0.44	0.20	0.41	-0.44
Political Reactance	0.37	0.54	0.41	0.31
	-0.07	0.07	0.19	0.14

NOTE: Whites on first row ($r = 0.08$, $p = 0.05$);
blacks on second row ($r = 0.29$, $p = 0.05$).

be the policy discontentment and political cynicism measures, the more "political" elements of this concept. In looking at the results for the black adolescents in Evansville, it is interesting that perceptions of racial discrimination are only significantly correlated with feelings of political cynicism. It is also interesting that, for this sample, political reactance is not associated with political alienation; and on the political sensitivity measure, two correlations are contrary to expectations. Finally, it is equally significant that the strongest relationship in this table for the black adolescents appears between the economic discrimination and poliicy discontentment indicators, suggesting a relatively sophisticated grasp of political reality in this particular area. In summary, some evidence for the political reality-political alienation linkage exists among the Evansville adolescents, especially among the white sample.

To this point in the data analysis the causal nature of the social deprivation-political reality model of political alienation antecedents has only been tangentially indicated. As was suggested in the earlier discussion, the model posits a series of causal paths between the social deprivation, self-competence, political reality, and political alienation variables. Moreover, the model assumes that it is more applicable to black than to white adolescents. As was stipulated above, the model predicts six non-recursive causal relationships: 1) perceptions of social deprivation will determine perceptions of low self-competence, 2) perceptions of social deprivation will generate critical-threatening perceptions of sociopolitical reality, 3) perceptions of social deprivation will cause feelings of political alienation, 4) perceptions of low self-competence will foster critical-threatening perceptions of sociopolitical reality, 5) perceptions of low self-competence will generate feelings of

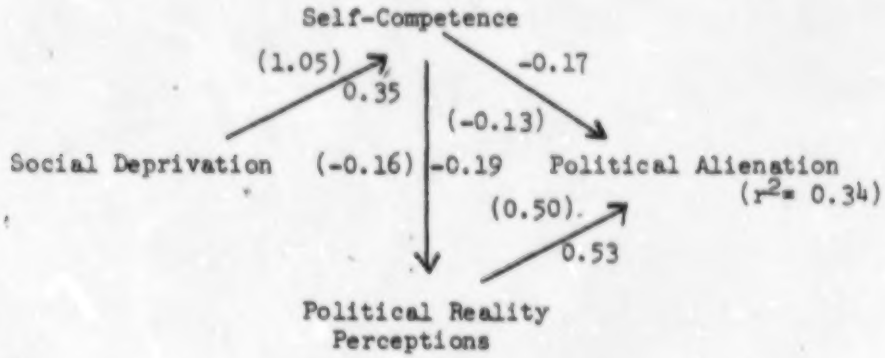
political alienation, and 6) critical-threatening perceptions of sociopolitical reality will affect feelings of political alienation.

In Figure 1, two path analyses are presented (Kerlinger and Pedhazur, 1973), one for each racial group, which will permit an empirical test of this causal model. Three findings are immediately evident in this figure. First, neither racial group provides complete support for all causal linkages predicted in the model, although, in this regard, the data pertaining to the white adolescents seems more applicable to the model. Second, the data on the white adolescents are better predictors of political alienation than the data on the black adolescents. Third, for both groups, the best single predictor of political alienation is critical-threatening perceptions of the sociopolitical system's functioning. In addition, from an individual- versus system-blame perspective (Caplan and Nelson, 1974; Ryan, 1971; Mills, 1943), it is noteworthy that whereas social deprivation affects self-competence in both racial groups, the self-competence composite indicator has no significant impact on either sociopolitical reality perceptions or felt political alienation among tne black adolescents. Among this group, no significant causal link exists whatsoever between the initial two variables and reality perceptions and political alienation. This rather soundly refutes the notion of individual-blame in accounting for black political alienation in recent years (Banfield, 1970).

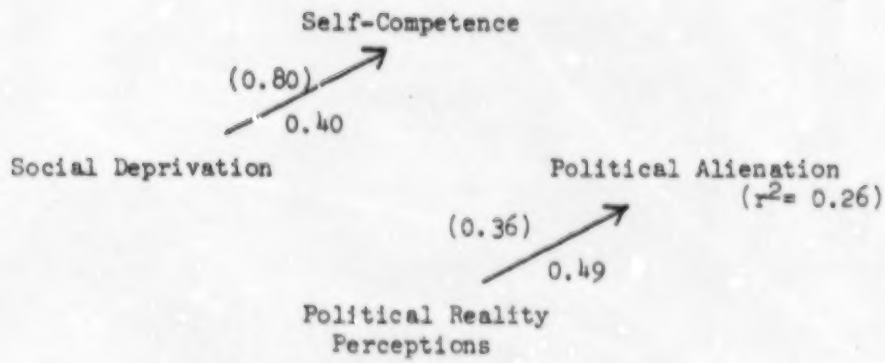
Conclusion. A number of salient findings have emerged from this test of the social deprivation-political reality model of political alienation antecedents among white and black adolescents. First, for the most part, predicted differences between the white and black adolescents regarding levels of

FIGURE 1. PATH ANALYSES OF FELT POLITICAL ALIENATION ANTECEDENTS BY RACE

Whites



Blacks



NOTE: Unstandardized coefficients inside parentheses; standardized coefficients outside parentheses. All coefficients are equal to twice their standard errors.

perceived social deprivation, perceived self-competence, critical-threatening perceptions of sociopolitical reality, and feelings of political alienation did not occur. Indeed, only three predicted racial differences did occur, those pertaining to lower levels of black self-esteem and higher levels of black perceived racial discrimination and political irrationality. Second, in most cases, predicted correlations between variables in the model received little or no empirical support for either racial group. Exceptions included the association between social deprivation and self-competence for both groups, but especially for the white adolescents, the linkage between self-competence and political reality perceptions and political alienation for the white adolescents, and the relatively strong correlation between perceptions of political reality and feelings of political alieration for both groups of adolescents. Third, in predicting levels of felt political alienation, the social deprivation-political reality model seems more applicable to white than to black adolescents. These relationships are not significantly altered when partial correlations are employed to control for the extraneous effects of sex, school year, grade-point-average, or socioeconomic status.

Repeated attempts to confirm the social deprivation model, using both white and black preadults, have failed (Long, 1974; Long, 1975a; Long, 1976d). Conversely, recent tests of the political reality model have repeatedly proved successful (Greenberg, 1969; Greenberg, 1970a; Greenberg, 1970b; Rodgers, 1974; Long, 1975b; Long, 1976d). The theoretical shortcomings in the social deprivation model, as well as the assumptions intrinsic to the model, at least partially account for its failure to receive empirical support. As originally formulated, the political reality model manifested major theoretical limitations, in that it was devoid of a motivation component. This source of motivation

is supplied in the integrated social deprivation-political reality model by the political reactance concept, which suggests that the individual is motivated either to regain a loss of personal freedom or to protect a threatened loss of freedom (Brehm, 1966; Brehm, 1972). Furthermore, reactance theory holds that the individual need not directly experience such an actual or threatened loss of freedom (Brehm, 1972: 3). The individual need only witness such an actual or threatened loss of freedom on the part of a person somewhat similar to himself (Brehm, 1972: 3). It is this psychological mechanism, then, which generates feelings of political alienation subsequent to an individual's perceptions of sociopolitical reality. Significantly, the psychological literature on personal threat suggests that persons with low self-esteem are especially prone to such reactance (Cantril, 1947; Johnson, 1945), but among the Evansville adolescents, self-esteem and political reactance are uncorrelated, and, more importantly, self-esteem and political sensitivity are positively correlated. Perceived threat from the sociopolitical system is, thus, not a function of personal psychopathology (Lazarus, 1966: 148).

Not only does the revised political reality model, with its reactance component, serve as a powerful predictor of political alienation among black adolescents, but it predicts feelings of political alienation among white adolescents equally well. And there is reason to believe that it is pertinent to adults too (Citrin, et al., 1975; Long, 1976h). Therefore, the earlier concern solely with black preadults, because of the limited scope of the social deprivation model, has now been transcended by a more generally applied political reality model which accounts for feelings of political alienation among more diverse populations. It is to these groups that future research should now turn in testing the revised model.

REFERENCES

ABRAMSON, P. (1972) "Political efficacy and political trust among black schoolchildren: two explanations." Journal of Politics 34 (November): 1243-1275.

BANFIELD, E. (1970) The Unheavenly City: The Nature and Future of Our Urban Crisis. Boston: Little, Brown.

BARD, J. (1973) "A self-rating scale for rationality." Rational Living 8 (Spring): 19.

BAUGHMAN, E. (1971) Black Americans: A Psychological Analysis. New York: Academic Press.

- - - and W. DAHLSTROM (1968) Negro and White Children: A Psychological Study in the Rural South. New York: Academic Press.

BREHM, J. (1972) Responses to Loss of Freedom: A Theory of Psychological Reactance. Morristown, N.J.: General Learning Press.

- - - (1966) A Theory of Psychological Reactance. New York: Academic Press.

BRIDGETTE, R. (1970) "Self-esteem in Negro and white southern adolescents." Ph.D. dissertation. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.

BRODY, E. (1964) "Color and identity conflict in young boys, II." Archives of General Psychiatry 10 (April): 354-360.

- - - (1963) "Color and identity conflict in young boys." Psychiatry 26 (May): 188-201.

CANTRIL, H. (1947) The Invasion from Mars. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University.

CAPLAN, N. and S. NELSON (1974) "Who's to blame." Psychology Today 8 (November): 99-104.

CHRISTMAS, J. (1973) "Self-comcept and attitudes," pp. 249-272 in K. Miller and R. Dreger (eds.) Comparative Studies of Blacks and Whites in the United States. New York: Seminar Press.

CITRIN, J., H. McCLOSKY, J. SHANKS, and P. SNIDERMAN (1975) "Personal and political sources of political alienation." British Journal of Political Science 5 (January): 1-31.

CLARK, K. (1965) Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power. New York: Harper and Row.

COLEMAN, J. (1971) Resources for Social Change: Race in the United States. New York: Wiley.

COLES, R. (1975) The Mind's Fate: Ways of Seeing Psychiatry and Psychoanalysis. Boston: Little, Brown.

- - - (1967) Children of Crisis: A Study of Courage and Fear. Boston: Little, Brown.

COOLEY, W. and P. LOHNES (1971) Multivariate Data Analysis. New York: Wiley.

COOPERSMITH, S. (1967) The Antecedents of Self-Esteem. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman.

COTTLE, T. (1974) Black Children, White Dreams. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

CRAIN, R. and C. WEISMAN (1972) Discrimination, Personality, and Achievement: A Survey of Northern Blacks. New York: Seminar Press.

CRAWFORD, T. and M. NADITCH (1970) "Relative deprivation, powerlessness, and militancy: the psychology of social protest." Psychiatry 33 (May): 208-223.

DOCTOROW, E. (1971) The Book of Daniel. New York: Random House.

DUNCAN, O. (1969) "Discrimination against Negroes," pp. 352-374 in B. Gross (ed.) Social Intelligence for America's Future: Explorations in Societal Problems. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

ELLIS, A. (1971) Growth Through Reason: Verbatim Cases in Rational-Emotive Therapy. Palo Alto, Calif.: Science and Behavior Books.

- - - (1962) Reason and Emotion in Psychotherapy. Secaucus, New Jersey: Lyle Stuart.

- - - and R. HARPER (1975) A New Guide to Rational Living. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

ERIKSON, E. (1966) "The concept of identity in race relations: notes and queries," pp. 227-253 in T. Parsons and K. Clark (eds.) The Negro American. Boston: Beacon Press.

FEAGIN, J. and H. HAHN (1973) Ghetto Revolts: The Politics of Violence in American Cities. New York: Macmillan.

FESTINGER, L. (1954) "A theory of social comparison processes." Human Relations 7 (2): 117-140.

FORWARD, J. and J. WILLIAMS (1970) "Internal-external control and black militancy." Journal of Social Issues 26 (Winter): 72-95.

FOX, E. and R. DAVIES (1971) "Test your rationality." Rational Living 5 (Spring): 23-25.

FRIEDMAN, M. (1975) Rational Behavior: An Explanation of Behavior That Is Especially Human. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina.

GOLDHAMER, H. (1950) "Public opinion and personality." American Journal of Sociology 55 (January): 346-354.

GORE, P. and J. ROTTER (1963) "A personality correlate of social action." Journal of Personality 31 (March): 58-64.

GREENBERG, E. (1970a) "Children and government: a comparison across racial lines." Midwest Journal of Political Science 14 (May): 249-275.

- - - (1970b) "Orientations of black and white children to political authority figures." Social Science Quarterly 51 (December): 561-571.

- - - (1969) "Children and the political community: a comparison across racial lines." Canadian Journal of Political Science 2 (December): 471-492.

GRIER, W. and P. COBBS (1968) Black Rage. New York: Basic Books.

GUGGENHEIM, F. (1969) "Self-esteem and achievement for white and Negro children." Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment 33 (February): 63-71.

GURIN, P., G. GURIN, R. LAO, and M. BEATTIE (1969) "Internal-external control in the motivational dynamics of Negro youth." Journal of Social Issues 25 (Summer): 29-53.

HAUSER, S. (1971) Black and White Identity Formation: Studies in the Psychosocial Development of Lower Socioeconomic Class Adolescent Boys. New York: John Wiley.

HEINZ, A. (1971) "Black pride as a system-transforming variable: its impact on self-image and attitudes toward authority." Ph.D. dissertation. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University.

HORNEY, K. (1950) Neurosis and Human Growth. New York: Norton.

ISRAEL, J. (1971) Alienation: From Marx to Modern Sociology. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

JOE, V. (1971) "Review of the internal-external control construct as a personality variable." Psychology Reports 28 (April): 619-640.

JOHNSON, D. (1945) "The phantom anesthetist of Matton: field study of mass hysteria." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 40 (April): 175-186.

KERLINGER, F. and E. PEDHAZUR (1973) Multiple Regression in Behavioral Research. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

KOFF, S. (1973) "The political use of the concept of alienation," pp. 269-293 in F. Johnson (ed.) Alienation: Concept, Term, and Meanings. New York: Academic Press.

KORNBERG, A., D. LINDER, and J. COOPER (1970) "Understanding political behavior: the relevance of reactance theory." Midwest Journal of Political Science 14 (February): 131-138.

LANE, R. (1959) Political Life: Why People Get Involved in Politics. New York: Free Press.

LASSWELL, H. (1962) Power and Personality. New York: Viking.

LAURENCE, J. (1970) "White socialization: black reality." Psychiatry 33 (May): 174-194.

LAZARUS, A. (1971) Behavior Therapy and Beyond. New York: McGraw-Hill.

LAZARUS, R. (1966) Psychological Stress and the Coping Process. New York: McGraw-Hill.

LEVIN, M. (1960) The Alienated Voter. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

LONG, S. (1976a) "Cognitive-perceptual factors in the political alienation process: a test of six models." Delivered at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago.

- - - (1976b) "Irrational ideation and political reality: a theory of political alienation." Yale University: Political Psychology Program.

- - - (1976c) "Irrationality and systemic rejection: insights from Ellis' rational behavior theory." Delivered at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago.

- - - (1976d) "Political alienation among black and white adolescents: a test of the social deprivation and political reality models." American Politics Quarterly (In press).

- - - (1976e) "Perceived psychosocial comparison level and systemic rejection among white and black youth." Delivered at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York.

- - - (1976f) "Perceived relative deprivation and political orientation: a study of white and black adolescents." Yale University: Political Psychology Program.

- - - (1976g) "Political disenchantment: a cognitive-perceptual theory of political alienation." Delivered at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Dallas.

- - - (1976h) "Political hopelessness: youth's prognosis for the system's future." Yale University: Political Psychology Program.

- - - (1976i) "Political reactance and political reality: a theory of political alienation." Yale University: Political Psychology Program.

- - - (1976j) "Psychological sources of systemic rejection among white and black adolescents." Delivered at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C.

- - - (1976k) "Psychopolitical orientations of white and black youth: a test of five models." Yale University: Political Psychology Program.

- - - (1975a) "Personality and systemic rejection: a study of white and black adolescents." Youth and Society 7 (December): 99-129.

- - - (1975b) "Sociopolitical reality and political alienation: a comparison of white and black adolescents." Delivered at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Seattle.

- - - (1974) "Socialization to revolt: political alienation and political violence justification among white and black youth." Delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago.

MacDONALD, A. (1972) "More on the Protestant Ethic." Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology 39 (August): 116-122.

- - - and R. GAMES (1972) "Ellis' irrational values." Rational Living 7 (Fall): 25-28.

MATTHEWS, D. and J. PROTHRO (1966) Negroes and the New Southern Politics. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World.

McCARTHY, J. and W. YANCEY (1971) "Uncle Tom and Mr. Charlie: metaphysical pathos in the study of racism and personal disorganization." American Journal of Sociology 76 (January): 648-672.

McCLOSKY, H. (1967) "Personality and attitude correlates of foreign policy orientation," pp. 51-109 in J. Rosenau (ed.) Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy. New York: Free Press.

McDONALD, R. and R. GYNTHER (1965) "Relationship of self and ideal self descriptions with sex, race, and class in southern adolescents." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 1 (January): 85-88.

McGUIRE, W. and A. PADAWER-SINGER (1976) "Trait salience in the spontaneous self-concept." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology (In press).

MERELMAN, R. (1971) "The development of policy thinking in adolescence." American Political Science Review 65 (December): 1033-1047.

MILLER, A. (1974) "Political issues and trust in government: 1964-1970." American Political Science Review 68 (September): 951-972.

MILLS, C. (1943) "The professional ideology of social pathologists." American Journal of Sociology 49 (September): 165-180.

MIRELS, H. and J. GARRETT (1971) "The Protestant Ethic as a personality variable." Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology 36 (February): 40-44.

MORLAND, J. (1962) "Racial acceptance and preference of nursery school children in a southern city." Merrill Palmer Quarterly 8 (October): 271-280.

PERRY, D. and J. FEAGIN (1972) "Stereotyping in black and white," pp. 433-463 in H. Hahn (ed.) People and Politics in Urban Society. Beverly Hills, California: Sage.

PETTIGREW, T. (1964) A Profile of the Negro American. Princeton, New Jersey: Van Nostrand.

PHARES, E. (1976) Locus of Control in Personality. Morristown, N.J.: General Learning Press.

PORTER, J. (1971) Black Child, White Child. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

POUSSAINT, A. and C. ATKINSON (1972) "Black youth and motivation," pp. 55-69 in J. Banks and J. Grambs (eds.) Black Self-Concept: Implications for Education and Social Science. New York: McGraw-Hill.

PRESTAGE, J. (1969) "Black politics and the Kerner Report: concerns and direction," pp. 538-543 in N. Glenn and C. Bonjean (eds.) Blacks in the United States. San Francisco: Chandler.

PROSHANSKY, H. and P. NEWTON (1968) "The nature and meaning of Negro self-identity," pp. 178-218 in M. Deutsch, I. Katz, and A. Jensen (eds.) Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

RANSFORD, H. (1968) "Isolation, powerlessness and violence: a study of attitudes and participation in the Watts riot." American Journal of Sociology 73 (March): 581-591.

RENSHON, S. (1974) Psychological Needs and Political Behavior: A Theory of Personality and Political Efficacy. New York: Free Press.

RODGERS, H. (1974) "Toward explanation of the political efficacy and political cynicism of black adolescents: an exploratory study." American Journal of Political Science 18 (May): 257-282.

ROSENBERG, M. (1973) "Which significant others?" American Behavioral Scientist 16 (July/August): 829-860.

- - - (1965) Society and the Adolescent Self-Image. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

- - - and R. SIMMONS (1971) Black and White Self-Esteem: The Urban School Child. Washington, D.C.: American Sociological Association.

ROTTER, J. (1966) "Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement." Psychology Monographs 80 (Whole No. 609): 1-28.

- - - (1954) Social Learning and Clinical Psychology. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

RYAN, W. (1971) Blaming the Victim. New York: Random House.

SALAMON, L. and S. VAN EVERA (1973) "Fear, apathy, and discrimination: a test of three explanations of political participation. American Political Science Review 67 (December): 1288-1306.

SARAT, A. (1975) "Reasoning in politics: the social, political, and psychological bases of principled thought." American Journal of Political Science 19 (May): 247-261.

SCANZONI, J. (1971) The Black Family in Modern Society. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

SCHACHT, R. (1970) Alienation. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.

SEEMAN, M. (1975) "Alienation studies," pp. 91-123 in A. Inkeles (ed.) Annual Review of Sociology. Palo Alto, Calif.: Annual Reviews.

- - - (1972) "Alienation and estrangement," pp. 467-527 in A. Campbell and P. Converse (eds.) The Human Meaning of Social Change. New York: Russell Sage.

SIGEL, R. (1971) "Bases of political and civic involvement among rural high school youths--internal/external control and involvement." Delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago.

SILBERMAN, C. (1964) Crisis in Black and White. New York: Random House.

SMITH, M. (1968) "Competence and socialization," pp. 270-320 in J. Clausen (ed.) Socialization and Society. Boston: Little, Brown.

SNIDERMAN, P. (1975) Personality and Democratic Politics. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California.

- - - and J. CITRIN (1971) "Psychological sources of political belief: self-esteem and isolationist attitudes." American Political Science Review 65 (June): 401-417.

SOARES, A. and L. SOARES (1969) "Self-perceptions of culturally disadvantaged children." American Educational Research Journal 6 (January): 31-45.

STRICKLAND, B. (1965) "The prediction of social action from a dimension of internal-external control." Journal of Social Psychology 66 (August): 353-358.

TENHOUTEN, W. (1970) "The black family: myth and reality." Psychiatry 33 (May): 145-173.

THIBAUT, J. and H. KELLEY (1959) The Social Psychology of Groups. New York: Wiley.

TOMLINSON, T. (1970a) "Determinants of black politics: riots and the growth of militancy." Psychiatry 33 (May): 247-264.

- - - (1970b) "Ideological foundations for Negro action: a comparative analysis of militant and non-militant views of the Los Angeles riots." Journal of Social Issues 26 (Winter): 93-119.

- - - (1968) "The development of a riot ideology among urban Negroes." American Behavioral Scientist 11 (March-April): 27-31.

WARD, S. and J. BRAUN (1972) "Self-esteem and racial preference in black children." American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 42 (July): 644-647.

WENDLAND, M. (1967) "Self-concept in southern Negro and white adolescents as related to rural-urban residence." Ph.D. dissertation. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.

WHITE, R. (1972) The Enterprise of Living: Growth and Organization in Personality. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

WILLIAMS, R. and H. BYARS (1970) "The effects of academic integration on the self-esteem of southern Negro students." Journal of Social Psychology 80 (April): 183-188.

- - - (1969) "Negro self-esteem in a transitional society." Personnel and Guidance Journal 47 (October): 120-125.